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TALK, SAY CHINESE

Far East: New hope for peace?

By Kumar Goshal

CHINESE PREMIER Chou En-lai on Sept. 6 offered the U.S. an opportunity to pull back from the brink of disaster in the Formosa Strait. He declared that Peking was prepared to resume ambassador-level talks with the U.S. as "a further effort to safeguard peace."

The talks were started in Geneva in 1955, and dealt with American prisoners in China. They were broken off last December when the U.S., after most of the prisoners had been released, insisted that Chiang Kai-shek was the real ruler of China and rejected Peking's offer of a joint declaration renouncing the use of force in resolving U.S.-China disputes.

In his proposal last week, Chou emphasized that if talks were resumed they would deal with resolving "the Sino-American dispute" in the Formosa Strait and not with China's "sovereign right to liberate" the offshore islands and Formosa. The latter, he said, was an internal matter for China to settle without outside interference.

TALKS IN WARSAW? The White House replied that the U.S. Ambassador at Warsaw "stands ready promptly" to meet with the Chinese Ambassador there. But Washington still insisted it would reject "any arrangements which would prejudice the rights" of Chiang.

It also confirmed that U.S. warships were escorting convoys of Chiang's ships carrying supplies to Quemoy. A daytime escort, the N.Y. **Times** said, "was intended as a deliberate defiance" of Peking's successful blockade of Quemoy and of its Sept. 2 extension of China's territorial waters to 12 nautical miles from "all

(Continued on Page 8)

PORTRAIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SATES MEETING THE QUEMOY CRISIS HEAD-ON

STATES AWAIT SUPREME COURT RULING

Four years later jimcrow still goes to school

By Louis E. Burnham

THE NATION last week moved uneasily into the fifth school year following the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling that racial separation in public school education is unconstitutional. For the opponents of jimcrow the immediate prospects were not bright.

Most of the school integration thus far has occurred in the border states and the District of Columbia. By 1956 integration had begun in some 350 school districts, almost all of them in Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, Missouri, Oklahoma and the nation's capital. By the end of the 1957-8 school year the number had increased to 764 out of 2,889 bi-racial districts in the areas affected by the Supreme Court decision. Thus three-fourths of the school districts involved remained solidly jimcrow.

TOKEN INTEGRATION: The count by school districts is misleading, however. Most of the districts in which integration has begun are in areas where the Negro population is a small percentage of the total. And in many the integration has been of the token variety, involving a mere handful of Negro students while the vast majority continue in jimcrow schools. Thus, the fact that there are 350,000 Negro school children in "integrated situations" does not mean that 350,000 Negro children are going to school with white classmates; the number is much smaller. And 2,000,000 Negro youth are still condemned to inferior education in school districts where integration is being persistently—sometimes savagely—resisted.

Seven hard-core "massive resistance" states have not been breached: Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. Fifteen school districts in Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina have attempted some integration, admitting Negro students into white schools by ones and twos. Integration which had begun in some West Texas districts came to a virtual halt last year because of a state law requiring approval by popular referendum before a school board can enforce the court mandate against jimcrow.

THE LEGAL QUESTION: This was the situation as the nation and a large part of the world turned their eyes on the Supreme Court, Little Rock, Ark., and the Old Dominion state of Virginia. School officials in Little Rock, having postponed the opening of Central High School from Sept. 2 to 15, awaited a new High Court decision that would determine the immediate course of integration in that embattled city and possibly the entire South.

The legal question before the Court as it sat in an extraordinary session on Sept. 11 was whether to uphold or reverse the ruling of Circuit Court Judge Harry J. Lemley granting a two-and-a-half year delay in Little Rock's limited integration plan. The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals had overturned the Lemley ruling and ordered seven Negro students who at-

(Continued on Page 10)

Minneapolis Tribune

"This pace is killing me."

ADOPTS DEMAND ABANDONED BY AFL-CIO

UE convention sets short work week as top goal for job security

By John T. McManus

A SHORTENED work week at no reduction in pay has been proposed to General Electric and Westinghouse by the independent United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers as a means of restoring the jobs of some 50,000 laid-off workers in the two companies and insuring the job security of those still working.

The proposal, made in negotiations going on concurrently with the 23rd annual UE convention in New York's Statler Hotel during Labor Day week, was enthusiastically backed by the several hundred delegates although it involved accepting already-negotiated pay increases for the next two years in shorter hours instead of cash.

Under the plan the basic work week would be reduced from 40 to 37½ hours beginning this Oct. 1, and to 35 hours on Oct. 1, 1959. In one Westinghouse plant where the work week is now 37½ hours, the work week would be scaled down to 32½ hours.

FOREGO PAY BOOST: Employes represented by UE in the two companies are prepared to accept this program instead of pay increases averaging 15c an hour due in 1958-59 under a five-year agreement reached in 1955. The companies would make up the difference in cost necessary to maintain the present weekly wage scales as hours are reduced.

In a letter to GE urging acceptance of the proposal, Joseph P. Dermody, head of the union's GE-Westinghouse Conference Board, wrote:

"Out of a gross profit of $502,000,000

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Tell him off!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Gov. Faubus, at least, asks his state legislature to back him up in his heroic fight against the Constitution and seven Negro children. Secy. Dulles, however, without asking anyone, warns Red China that we, the American people, are willing to risk an atomic war and to die for Quemoy and Chiang Kai-shek.

Sen. Lehman said at the discussion of the Formosa Resolution on Jan. 28, '55: "These islands, from time immemorial, have been a part of China proper. There is no juridical, legal or historical basis for separating, alienating, or neutralizing those doorstep islands." And Sir Anthony Eden said in the British House of Commons, on Jan. 27, '55: "The offshore islands have always been regarded, and are regarded now by us as part of China."

As citizens of a democracy we have not only the right but the duty to tell Mr. Dulles that we do not agree with him, that we are not willing to fight an atomic war, abandoned and condemned by all our friends, and to die for Chiang.

John H. Beck

Indirect aggression

EL CAJON, CALIF.

I see that our great Secretary of State explained to AFL-CIO leaders at the Garment Workers' union summer camp what he meant by "indirect aggression." This, according to a report in the AFL-CIO News, is "the use of inflammatory radio broadcasts, infiltration of weapons, personnel and bribe money, incitement to murder and assassination and threats of personal violence."

It is fair to assume, I suppose, that he had Radio Free Europe and our very own C.I.A. in mind as he spoke.

Robert Karger

The drum-beaters

CHICAGO, ILL.

Aesop had his fables—columnist Joseph Alsop and Sen. Symington (D-Mo.) have their "more defense" drum-beating functions. And other Senators will continue to make revelations—for example, Sen. Saltonstall (R-Mass.) on Aug. 21 disclosed that Soviet military capabilities are overstated by critics of the Administration's defense program. At the same time, Sen. Allott (R-Colo.) told how a certain columnist about two years ago "made the prediction that by now the Russians would have over 800 operational Bisons. . . . Now we are told by this same columnist that the Russians have only about 250 Bisons" (Congressional Record, Aug. 21, 1958, p. 17401).

This expose was not accompanied by an effort to investigate the investments and sources of income of columnists. At the same time, wasteful military (mostly Air Force) inflation continues to increase the cost of living; an increase that has forced millions of mothers into full-time employment, and many children as a consequence into the ranks of juvenile delinquents.

Albert Bofman

Socialists in America

WHITNEY, TEX.

We doubt if there is now any chance for a socialist party to develop into a mass movement. For one thing, the common people are too well off and, for another, they do not have the class feeling that prevails in the old world. But still, there is a broad field of work for a forthright socialist party, free of outside entanglements, to do what may be done in getting new members, to keep abreast of technology, and to keep a sharp watch on foreign policy and on the doings of native fascist groups, and to put up a fight for civil liberties.

Socialists sometimes foresee depressions when they are not on the boards. Yet, it is inevitable that there will come a time. Production cannot go on outstripping consumption by ever widening margins without things buckling up in the end. Our official classes, including most of the labor men, refuse to face up to this proposition. Unless extensive new markets are found, or unless new industries are opened up, or unless there is another war to use up commodities, there is bound to come a time of stagnation, like 1929, when vast numbers of people will either have to be fed, or die of starvation.

Anticipating this sort of thing, an intelligent and well-organized socialist party would be able—if not to step into the breach—at least to point the way out.

D. W. King

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

It took her until 1932 to begin her affair with politics. "Horror-struck" by the Depression, she pondered long and hard on what she could do about it, and at last concluded that she should take an active part in the campaign to re-elect Herbert Hoover.

—Profile of Mrs. Preston Davie, vice chairman of the N.Y. County Republican Committee, in the N.Y. **Post**, 9/3.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J.N., White Plains, N.Y.

On applying pressure

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

On the letter in the Aug. 18 issue by "Name Withheld" of Hollywood, who cited the action of the California Young Democrats in demanding troop withdrawal from Lebanon as vindication of the policy of working within the Democratic Party:

The action of the Young Democrats was not only commendable, but an indication that the youth who are most immediately affected by the drive toward war are stirring in opposition to Wall Street's brink-of-war policies. The unfortunate thing is that they should be misled into thinking the Democratic Party provides an effective arena for expression of such ideas.

There is not the ghost of a chance that such an action will affect the solidarity of the bipartisan foreign policy, or will even constitute a serious pressure on the Democratic Party tops. They are all too happy to see such sentiments expressed through such harmless channels rather than through an independent political movement such as the voters of New York will have the privilege of supporting in November.

More power to you in New York, and let's hope you provide the inspiration for like actions through the rest of the country.

D.M.

The Liberal Party

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There is a definite danger that the Liberal Party leadership will disregard the overwhelming preference of the rank-and-file membership of the party by endorsing the De Sapio-Tammany candidate Frank S. Hogan for Senate. The membership has expressed its desire for an independent candidate, preferably a member of the Liberal Party itself, to run against both the Tammany and Republican candidates. If the Liberal Party fails in this instance to stand courageously against the two reactionary major party machines in this city, it runs the risk of alienating vast numbers of its supporters.

Emmett Baker Groseclose

The Liberal Party on Sept. 4 nominated Hogan in place of Thomas K. Finletter. It decided to run its own candidate for Attorney General.—Editor

Ideas into action

BRONX, N.Y.

It doesn't make sense to waste a vote. A vote is a powerful instrument that pressures politicians to act in the public interest. Why elect a Democrat—when his public interest is De Sapio? Why not build a party for the future? The ideas and feelings we have about the issues mean nothing if we do not turn them into action. The only way to do this is to vote Independent-Socialist. Tomorrow is another day, but not necessarily another chance.

A.B.

Evening Standard, London

"Supposing you fell from a 10-story window—this policy would replace your glasses."

Koppersmith withdraws

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I would like to thank the GUARDIAN for its coverage of my campaign for the New York State Senate. For reasons beyond control it was impossible to gather the 3,000 signatures necessary to put my name on the ballot.

In withdrawing, I would like to thank all those who contributed cash and canvassing to my campaign. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. J. Raymond Walsh for his warm and encouraging support.

I urge all former ALP'ers and progressives to join me in giving wholehearted support to the full slate of Independent - Socialist candidates in New York.

I urge the Communist Party to reconsider its decision. I urge it now to come out in support of the full slate of Independent-Socialists. **Hal Koppersmith**

Warren Billings retires

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I have been growing older these last 19 years, since my release from Folsom Prison in October, 1939. Consequently any productivity has been diminishing and has finally reached the point where I can no longer put out enough work to make a living. Trying to do it at watch-repairing is doing it the hard way.

Since I now can do only half as much work as formerly, that leaves me only half a day's pay, and frankly, I can't make a go of it. Half a loaf may be better than none, but I doubt it. Therefore I am forced to retire. Having passed my 65th birthday on July 4, I have now applied for my Social Security, which I have paid taxes on since 1950, but the board tells me that I cannot draw benefits until I produce proof of the disposal of my business. Now I am about to offer my entire stock of watches, clocks, diamonds, jewelry and watch attachments at wholesale or less to my friends and customers, many of whom are GUARDIAN readers. (See ad on p. 11.) **Warren K. Billings.**

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REPORT TO READERS

End the nightmare

THE NEWS FROM WASHINGTON, and from the golf course at Newport, R. I., is like a recurring nightmare: The scene is Korea. A little man from Missouri with a tin soldier's hat is pushing us over the brink. A man with a crooked mouth and a homburg hat is helping him. They succeed; over the brink we go and wake up screaming three years and 142,000 casualties later.

The little man fades out and the crooked mouth comes to the fore by default of the blank-eyed soldier who replaces the little man. The scene is Indo-China, Lebanon, and now Quemoy, and he keeps pushing toward the brink, and we are hanging on by our fingernails. And people are screaming, but the voices are far away, in places like Kuala Lumpur in Malaya and other odd-sounding spots where people who are just beginning to live insist on the right not to die.

How long must the nightmare go on? How long will the people of America remain silent accomplices in these recurring thrusts of insanity? It is true that the field is narrowing. Year by year the feudal dictators are being booted into oblivion all over the world by people inspired sometimes by the example of socialist revolution, but more often by the concepts of democracy once so cherished in the Western world.

To these concepts our government still gives lip service as long as they are confined to the "civilized" nations; but these same concepts are regarded as a dangerous threat to the free world when adopted by the people of the now-shrinking colonial world.

It is becoming more and more difficult to maintain the fiction that democracy becomes "communism" in the hands of people who insist on developing their own countries for their own use.

THE FACTS OF LIFE ARE BEGINNING to register in some unexpected places. Harry Truman's Secy. of State Dean Acheson stands horrified at the spectacle of atomic war over some islands a few miles off the China coast. This is the same Acheson who between January and June 1950 (the month the Korean War broke) systematically worked with Herbert Hoover, the China Lobby and Gen. MacArthur to formulate the deep-freeze policy of non-recognition of China.

Bruce Barton, once Mr. Publicity for the Republican Party, says that our insistence on recognizing Chiang Kai-shek rather than Mao Tse-tung makes as much sense as if 600,000,000 Chinese recognized Alf Landon rather than General Eisenhower as President of the U.S.

In the Congress and in the press voices are being raised against the incredible stupidity and callousness of the events of the last weeks. There is growing uneasiness in high places, reports James Reston in the N.Y. Times. This uneasiness is a sign of progress that must eventually turn into downright unrest.

But it won't until there is a popular movement that forces the action—and then forces a change in our policy altogether. And glad as we are to see the Achesons and the Bartons of this world worrying in public, we feel they have had too large a hand in the preparation of this disaster to lead the way to the future.

THE WAY TO THE FUTURE must begin with the recognition of the rightful government of China and a seat for this government in the United Nations. It must proceed from there to an insistence that Washington stop its policy of supporting any hated warlord or dictator or monarch anywhere in the interest of profit over people.

Today in our country there are the beginnings of independent political movements which afford people a means of expression. If you have the opportunity to join such a movement we urge you to do so. If you cannot, then raise your voice as an individual in the interest of survival and sanity—to the White House and to your congressmen and your local papers.

The people of the world yearn to be friends with the people of America. They cannot take our hand if that hand holds a gun. Millions of poor and hungry and semi-literate people in Asia and Africa have taken the guns from the hands of their misleaders. Surely we can do the same in our land and help to build a world of peace.

—THE GUARDIAN

Far-seeing golfer

ERWIN, TENN.

Last January, President Eisenhower said he was estimating a $500 million surplus for this current fiscal year. Instead, for the first half of the fiscal year alone the government is paying out $11 billion more than it is taking in. The deficit for the full year is going to be the largest ever in peacetime U.S. history, say the financial experts.

Ernest Seeman

'WITCHES' FIGHT BACK IN NEWARK

O'Connor defies committee; refuses to appear at hearing

With the aid of a rough-riding U.S. marshal and a small posse of deputies the House Committee on Un-American Activities blustered through a three-day hearing in Newark, N.J., Sept. 3-5. Of some 20 witnesses, all except the customary couple of FBI informers relied on the First and Fifth Amendments to rebuff the Committee's invasion of their private beliefs and associations.

Marshal Joseph Job ejected six persons in the first two days, including Rev. Stanley J. Hallett, associate minister of Newark's Trinity Methodist Church. When attorney Hubert T. Delany, former N.Y. Domestic Relations Court judge, protested the eviction of his client, Edward C. Taylor, Job shouted, "I'll throw you out, too."

Resistance to the committee was just as pronounced outside the hearing room as in. Five groups joined in a statement charging that the hearing had been "marked by pre-judgment, one-sidedness, irresponsible charges, refusal to allow victims of attack and defamation the right to confront their accusers or to enter a defense beyond the mere statement of their constitutional objections to the questions." Signing the statement were the Rutgers Chapter, American Assn. of University Professors; Newark Chapter, American Civil Liberties Union; New Jersey Council, Americans for Democratic Action; Newark Local of the American Federation of Teachers, and the New Jersey Region of the American Jewish Congress.

On the night of the first day of the hearings a marshal walked into a protest meeting and tried to serve Harvey O'Connor, co-chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, with a subpena to appear on the final day. O'Connor did not appear and thereby laid the basis for an unprecedented challenge of the committee's authority. The GUARDIAN presents below O'Connor's account of his reaction to the subpena and his statement explaining the basis of his challenge.

FINGERMAN ROBERT DIXON JR. (L.) AT WORK FOR THE UN-AMERICANS
He accuses Kate Heck (r.) at Newark as atty. Joseph Forer (c.) watches

By Harvey O'Connor

LITTLE COMPTON, R.I.

IT'S GETTING SO you can't go to a meeting without having a subpena shoved in your face.

The other night I went over to Newark to speak at a meeting called to protest the latest invasion by the House Un-American Activities Committee. As I entered the room, a marshal advanced and slapped a subpena on my arm.

The newspaper stories said I threw it to the ground. Inaccurate reporting. I never touched the wretched thing. Responding to the laws of gravity, it fluttered, like a wounded bird, helplesly to the floor. Nevertheless I had been legally "served."

My reaction to the subpena was negative. On principle, I don't like them. Too many thousands of good Americans have been served with subpenas by the cursed House Committee in the past 21 years. Why were they served? Because they were people of principle, with ideas and ideals, the cream of the American crop, the kind of folks who in generations past made this "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

FED UP: It matters not to me whether I agree with every last one of them on matters of ideology; the point is that here are Americans who had enough social conscience to think what they pleased, to join what they wished, in our common effort to build a better America and a better world.

I'm fed up with this subpena business, with the endless hearings of the House Committee and its companion outfit in the Senate, Eastland's "internal security" posse. I'm sick at heart to think of the thousands of lives that have been ruined by these committees. So my reaction when the marshal served me was one of disgust. I didn't touch the subpena. So far as I'm concerned, it was a waste of effort on the part of the House Committee. My reasons are given in the following statement released to the press.

It'll be interesting to see what happens from here on out:

THE STATEMENT: In declining to respond to a purported subpena issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I am acting strictly within the confines of the decision of the Supreme Court in the **Watkins** case, of June 17, 1957. I challenge the authority of the House Committee to summon me for an unconstitutional purpose.

This subpena was served on me as I entered a meeting hall in the Hotel Carlton, Newark. The House Committee on that day had been holding hearings in Newark. In the course of the proceedings, Congressman Scherer bitterly assailed the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (whose New Jersey Associates had taken an advertisement in the Newark **News** criticizing the House Committee) and myself as chairman of ECLC.

The meeting was held to explain to the public the decision of the subpenaed witnesses and to rally support for them. Congressman Scherer is, of course, entitled to his own opinions about both the ECLC and myself. But I challenge his right to hale me before his Committee.

As the Supreme Court observed in the **Watkins** decision: "There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of Congress . . . Nor is the Congress a law enforcement or trial agency . . . No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress. Investigations conducted solely for the personal aggrandisement of the investigators or to 'punish' those investigated are indefensible."

WORKING FOR ABOLITION: The words of the Supreme Court cover exactly the situation regarding the subpena. The announced purpose of the House Committee is to "punish" the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee because within the past year ECLC initiated a campaign for abolition of the House Committee. While Congressman Scherer may contend that his Committee should not be abolished, he has no right to summon me because as a citizen I am working for such abolition. Congress can enact no legisaltion suppressing a citizens' organization; in the words of the Supreme Court: "Clearly, an investigation is subject to the command that the Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or press or assembly." The Court emphasized that the investigative process "is justified solely as an adjunct to the legislative process." Congress obviously cannot restrain the ECLC or myself from petitioning for the abolition of a Congressional committee. The Court added: "We have no doubt that there is no Congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure," which can be the only purpose in summoning me, granted that Congress may not legislate against my rights as a citizen.

DEFINE UN-AMERICAN? I am challenging the right of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to exist. In that I am following the reasoning of our highest Court when it commented on the resolution authorizing the creation of the House Committee. Said the Court: "It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of 'un-American'?"

Not one single piece of legislation has emanated from the 21 years of activity of this House Committee. It has amassed testimony filling a five-foot shelf without producing a single constructive law. It has wasted millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money, it has ruined the lives of thousands of citizens whose ideas the House Committee considered unorthodox. It is time to challenge the power of the House Committee to spread fear and confusion among us. By declining to respond to the House Committee's subpena, I make that challenge.

HARVEY O'CONNOR
He's fed up with subpenas

NEW YORKERS CONFIDENT OF BALLOT STATUS

Independent-Socialists file 25,000 names

WITH ACCEPTANCES filed from all five state-wide candidates, New York's United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee reached the Sept. 9 deadline in its nominating-petition campaign with more than 25,000 signatures. The legal minimum requirement is 12,000 signatures of registered voters, with at least 50 in each of New York's 62 counties.

Challenges were expected from the N.Y. State Democratic machine, dominated by Secy. of State Carmine DeSapio, head of Tammany Hall, with the possibility of a court fight by the Independent-Socialist ticket for a ballot position. Exhaustive scrutiny of the nominating petitions by a small army of "paper-workers" checking names, addresses and registration of the signers indicated that all minimum requirements were exceeded by safe margins. At least 75 valid signatures were obtained in the most difficult of the N.Y. counties.

VOLUNTEER TEAMS: Thousands signed the Independent-Socialist petitions in the N.Y. City and Buffalo areas, while canvassers in most other counties brought in hundreds of signatures to meet the 50-signature minimum. The signatures were gathered by mobilizations in the cities. Volunteer teams toured the upstate counties, spending weekends and vacations on the petition effort which began July 29.

The unexpected success of the canvass in the heavily Republican upstate counties gave Republicans as well as Democrats cause for concern, especially because of the indicated closeness of the contest for U.S. Senator between N.Y. District Attorney Frank Hogan, Democrat-Liberal candidate, and the Republican, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating.

Upstate antipathy to Tammany politics, well-publicized throughout the state in connection with the steam-roller nomination of Hogan at the Democratic convention in Buffalo last month, may be offset by a concern among Republican voters over their party's warlike maneuvers over the Formosa area. A peace candidacy such as that of Corliss Lamont on the Independent-Socialist ticket offers these anti-Tammany voters their only positive alternative.

A CHALLENGE: Statements of the Independent-Socialist candidates at an acceptance rally Sept. 3 winding up the petition campaign, challenged candidates of the other parties to join in opposing military intervention over the Quemoy and Matsu Islands and appealed to Liberal party and other independent voters throughout the state to vote for Independent-Socialist candidates as a vote for peace and against hand-picked machine candidates.

Lamont challenged both Keating and Hogan to join him in opposing military intervention in the Far East and in calling for abolition of nuclear weapons.

John T. McManus, Independent-Socialist candidate for governor, pointed out that the N.Y. labor movement had "once again received a rude kick in the teeth" from the Democrats.

"The DeSapio machine rode roughshod over the timid overtures of a captive labor leadership," he said, "and unceremoniously dismissed every nomination suggested by them."

The acceptance rally adopted resolutions condemning military intervention on the China coast and calling on Gov. Folsom of Alabama to commute the death sentence of Jimmy Wilson for the theft of $1.95.

RANK AND FILE IS MILITANT BUT—

Britain's trade union leaders turn to Right

By Cedric Belfrage

BOURNEMOUTH, ENGLAND

SEPTEMBER is the month in Britain for the annual two-part "workers' parliament" concluding with the Labor Party conference. Meeting this year in an atmosphere of multiple crisis, the Trades Union Congress has dealt constructively with minor problems. It has given little indication of what, if anything, Britain's 8,000,000-strong organized labor movement will do about the major ones.

The TUC's General Council now includes four "Sirs" and 11 other holders of Orders, Medals and Commanderships of the British Empire. Massed on a theater stage in this refined south-coast resort, these comrades faced a majority of machine delegates and a minority who demanded united militancy and leadership against nuclear doom. The Council wore an expression of deep and unanimous melancholy as it drove the time-honored steamroller over the subversives.

On economic policy, no one denied that the government is systematically attacking workers' living standards, restricting industrial growth and creating unemployment. (Total unemployed rose to 446,000 in August.) Condemnatory resolutions, with rejection of "wage restraint," were passed; but after a debate showing wide differences of view, no common positive policy did or could emerge.

COUSINS SIDE-STEPS: Militant delegates centered their hopes on Frank Cousins, leader of the Transport workers, who is said to have chagrined his General Council colleagues by declining the Queen's knighthood. Applauded for his warm defense of the recent London bus strike, Cousins side-stepped a showdown with the Council on its failure to mobilize the movement behind the strike.

Other delegates raised the demand for united action in future strikes, but the official line was that affiliated unions must fight their battles on their own. Chairman Tom Yates, CBE, whose tragically woebegone men would have graced a Selected Morticians convention, spoke for the Council majority in condemning "political coercion" by unions as "threatening democracy." Frigid toward pleas for further nationalization of industries, the Council seemed enmeshed in a Reutherian love affair with capitalism, while lacking the bargaining skill to win wage scales remotely comparable with the American.

As the Congress met, Britain was conniving by default in Dulles' brinkmanship in the Taiwan Strait; British troops sat on Middle Eastern dynamite in Jordan; British strontium-90 continued to be hurled into the atmosphere from Christmas Island; and U.S. nuclear hardware was arriving at U.S. bases in Britain and being readied for the use of Hitler's generals. To demands for a forthright position on the rights of China which Britain "recognizes," the Council's Sir Alfred Roberts, CBE, said China's admission to UN would "not necessarily" lessen the Taiwan crisis.

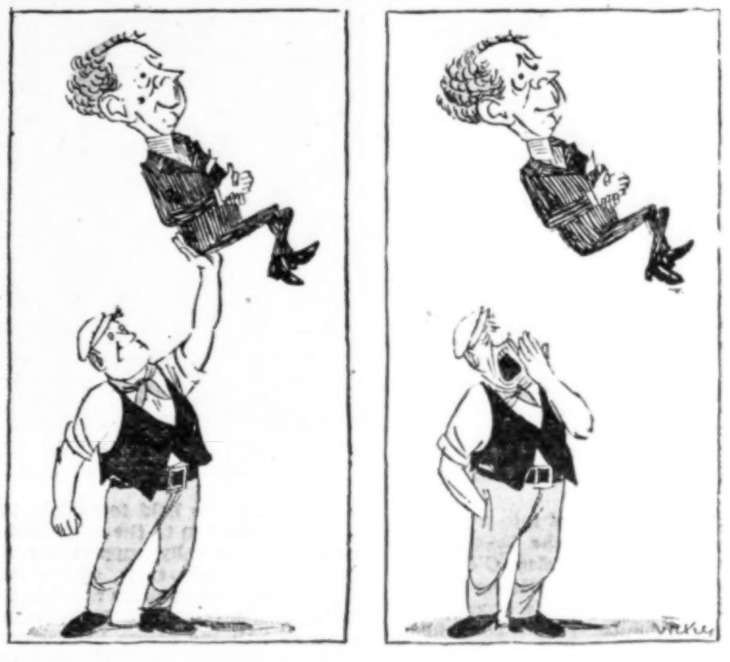
Eccles in London Worker

"This side says: 'Keep Out — United States H-Test Area.' What does your side say?"

WEAK ON ARMS TESTS: On nuclear armament ("a stark necessity" according to Yates) the Council lagged well behind Germany's Social Democrats, although before the conference it had urged an immediate halt to the Christmas Island tests. It backed a weak resolution urging Summit talks on ending tests and disarming, which had little point since the three nuclear governments had already agreed to halt tests and start talks on Oct. 31.

Delegates had the choice between this and a strong resolution backed by the Firemen, Garment Workers, Engineering & Shipbuilding Draftsmen, Foundry Workers and others. This declared all balance-of-power policies "irrelevant" in the nuclear age, and opposed nuclear rearming of Germany and British manufacture and use from its territory of nuclear weapons.

The Firemen's John Horner threw back at the opponents of British unilateral action the charge of "emotionalism." The fact of Britain's indefensibility, whether it had these weapons or not, was obvious above all to firemen—the workers expected to take a leading part in "defense," which they have dubbed "Operation Up-the-Pole." As for the possession of H-bombs giving Britain "strength" for negotiation, "what you're really saying is: 'If you don't agree with me I'll commit suicide.'" The British labor movement was in a logical position—and owed it to "the unborn"—to give the world a lead.



Vicky in New Statesman, London

The delegates' rapt attention and applause, and the completely lame "reply" by Sir Alfred, testified to the power of Horner's arguments. When Sir Alfred complained that unilateral action would deprive Britain of its NATO allies including Germany, and a delegate shouted "Including the fascist generals!", Sir Alfred replied with dignity: "I'm not concerned about the fascist generals." Chairman Yates ended it by "hoping this motion will be defeated"; a forest of right arms shot up in unison to defeat logic and pass the buck.

WHICH END? The Council comfortably smothered a resolution, backed by the Vehicle Builders and Railwaymen, suggesting that the Free Trade Unions Confedn. and the World Fedn. of Trade Unions "consider the possibility" of common action in certain areas.

TUC secy. Sir Vincent Tewson, CBE, evoked Hungarian memories to reject the "proposed panacea," and did not explain why the Council thought East-West politicians' talks would be so good and East-West workers' talks so bad. The Railwaymen's Kelly could only hope in a rich Scot's burr that "some day somewhere some reasoning will be applied to this issue," and that it would happen before the consequences of disunity took other labor movements down the road of France's.

The venerable Walter Citrine, former TUC secy. who finally rose from mere knighthood to become a Lord, contemplated the proceedings benignly from the gallery. Giving his customary portrayal of the TUC as an amiable cart-horse, cartoonist David Low showed the horse with reins attached to its tail as well as its head, asking a Council member who sits on it sideways to "make up your mind which end you want to steer."

THE RANK AND FILE: On the basis of this performance the horse is heading toward the Right, although most of the labor movement's leaders seem too mentally and spiritually pulped to chart a clear course in any direction. Reflected from this is a growing apathy in the movement, which has drastically altered last year's position when Labor was sure of winning the next elections.

Equally evident at the Congress was a spirit of healthy alarm and impatient militancy in the rank and file. At the Labor Party conference this still large element in the movement will be quoting, to back its arguments for militancy, the latest Gallup Poll showing that Labor's best electoral chance is to move leftward. But the machine is powerful, the Knighthoods (and accompanying Lady-hoods), are delicious, and the militants are without leaders of established stature.

UE convention

(Continued from Page 1)

in 1957, with a profit per production worker of $2,500 a year, GE can well afford to do as much as its workers are offering to do for the sake of putting tens of thousands of laid-off GE workers of many years service back on the job."

General Electric negotiators called the proposal "unique" and agreed to consider it. The union had before it a GE proposal for an employe savings plan which contains no job-restoring feature. The purpose of re-opening the five-year pact this month was to consider questions of employment security.

The UE's move restores to the national collective bargaining picture the concept of the shorter work week abandoned by AFL-CIO union leadership early this year in favor of profit-sharing and other proposals which provided no remedies for increasing unemployment. AFL-CIO unions in negotiations with GE and Westinghouse, including the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers and the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, were notified in advance of UE's proposal. UE members will undertake a literature campaign to acquaint the rank and file of the other unions with the plans.

LEGISLATIVE DEMANDS: On the convention floor the plan got immediate backing from the representatives of workers in the big Westinghouse plant at Essington, Pa., where 2,000 more layoffs in a present work force of 9,000 are expected this year.

The convention backed up the shorter work week bargaining proposals with a program for legislative action to amend the Wage-Hour Law to shorten the work week to 35 hours and raise the hourly minimum to $1.50 with extended coverage.

Other economic legislative proposals called for Federal income tax amendments to allow exemptions of $2,600 for maried couples, $1,800 for individuals and $1,000 for dependents; unemployment benefits of $60 or 75% of earnings per week, whichever is greater; lowering of retirement age under Social Security to 60 for men and 55 for women with $125 a month minimum benefits, $60 for dependents, improved disability protection and full hospital and medical care for all retired and disabled workers; and a comprehensive Federal public works program designed to "meet the minimum needs of our country . . . and put America back to work."

A full program embodying these proposals and others on health, housing, education, farm welfare, resources development, monopoly control and civil rights will be presented to the 86th Congress in January.

PEACE: The convention's peace resolution called for a complete ban on atomic explosions and an end to the "unproductive armaments program." The armaments tax burden was seen as one that has become "onerous to the people and has enriched mainly the monopolists." An economy based on military production was called "unsound and destructive, not only of our lives, but of our liberties." The convention urged a new foreign policy which would put the U.S. "on the side of anti-colonial forces seeking freedom from old imperialist domination."

POLITICS: A political action resolution mentioned no political party by name, stressed the "traditional independent role" of the union (which backed Wallace and Taylor in 1948) and urged that the union's "Put America Back to Work" program be presented to all candidates for concurrence.

Other resolutions called for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, repeal of all repressive legislation such as the Smith and McCarran Acts and the Taft-Hartley law; full civil rights, and support of the victims of the Cleveland and Denver Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" prosecutions.

ORGANIZATION UP: Reduced sharply in membership in recent years through AFL-CIO raiding and breakaways, UE for 1957-58 showed gains of upwards of 5,000 members and indication of rank-and-file efforts to return to UE from other unions in the field. The convention backdrop was decorated with placards of new UE bargaining units in 15 plants throughout the country.

The convention reelected the union's officers — Albert Fitzgerald, president; Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer; and James J. Matles, director of organization —and heard addresses by Brig.-Gen. Hugh B. Hester (Ret.) on "The Cold War: Facts, Fancies and Consequences"; by former N.Y. Judge Hubert T. Delaney on the fight for civil rights; and by Harry Bridges, fiery president of the Independent Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

FREED POLITICAL PRISONERS GET JOBS BACK

Iraq's revolution is backed by ALL the people

This dispatch from Tabitha Petran marks her return to the Middle East after almost a year. The infrequency of her stories in the GUARDIAN in the last months was caused by a severe illness—the result of an infection sustained in India—which had kept her incapacitated much of the time. We are glad to report that her condition has improved enough to permit a new stay in the Middle East, from which she will report in the coming months. We are also pleased to note that her analytical and interpretative pieces of last year on the Middle East have been borne out by recent events.

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent
BAGHDAD

BAGHDAD RISES out of the mud brought down by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to form the land of Lower Mesopotamia — thousands of miles of mud plains without stones and without trees except for palms. At first sight, it looks more like an overgrown mud village than a modern city; its low, flat mud-brick buildings sprawl dusty and hot along the banks of the Tigris, their khaki-colored drabness relieved but rarely by the bright blue of a minaret or the seared yellow-green of a palm tree. Heaps of mud-brick rubble from demolished houses along many streets resemble bomb ruins.

A month after the revolution, the people remain exuberant. Cheering crowds gather quickly to hail every appearance, however unheralded, of Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim, the unpretentious army leader and hero of the revolution, whose popularity grows daily. Rumors current one morning that the Shah of Iran had been assassinated and Iran proclaimed a republic sent thousands of flag-waving youths racing through the streets in the blast-furnace noonday heat chanting: "Iran Republic! Iran Republic!" and occasionally: "Down with American imperialism." Women, clad in the black aba'a, many with tattooed hands, lined the sidewalks in excited chatter.

THE 7th OF AUGUST: Outside the Defense Ministry long lines of men, young and old, queue from early morning to enroll in the Popular Resistance Forces. In a few days 10,000 signatures were gathered in Baghdad alone to a petition demanding freedom for the Arab patriots condemned to death in Jordan and immediate evacuation of Anglo-American troops. The petition was sent to UN states and to foreign embassies here. Only the American Embassy refused to accept it.

Few revolutions can have been more popular than the one which toppled the oppressive dictatorship of Nuri As Said and his Anglo-American backers last July 14. Everyone wants to tell you about it, and especially about the huge seven-hour demonstration of Aug. 7 when some 300,000 people—tens of thousands of them coming by bus and on foot from many parts of the country — gathered here to demonstrate their determination to protect the revolution. Their slogans were: Internal Unity (as between Arabs and Kurds), Arab Federation, and Iraqi-Soviet Friendship.

SOCIALISTS WELCOME: "That was the biggest demonstration ever made in this part of the world," people say proudly. Or: "Ours was a people's revolution, not an army coup d'etat." And again: "A Soviet journalist said he had never seen anything like it," as if this settled the matter. For representatives from socialist countries, whether journalists, diplomats or traders, get a hero's welcome —in contrast to the jeers which are likely to greet Americans or British. It is clear that the people—who revolted against a feudal tyranny—know who kept the tyrants in power and who opposed them.

When the Soviet ambassador arrived, thousands gathered at the airport—though there had been no public announcement of his coming. As the word spread, Baghdad's shops closed down with one accord, people poured into the streets to cheer him, and crowds became so thick the car could not pass. At one point, people tried to lift his car onto their shoulders. Pictures of the Soviet ambassador arriving at the airport are now selling briskly in the streets.

Welcome for the Chinese representation was almost as tumultuous. A Chinese journalist, who arrived in the revolution's early days over the desert from Damascus, told how he was asked by the Iraqi frontier officer to get off the bus. He anticipated trouble since hitherto Chinese have not been permitted even transit rights through Iraq. The officer took him aside to say: "I just wanted to shake hands and tell you how happy we are you are here. We didn't dream you would come so quickly."

Liberation, Paris

The new Republic

IN ITS FIRST DECREE, the new government of Iraq told the people that it would adhere to the UN Charter and the principles of the Bandung Conference. It promised a plebiscite to ratify a new constitution and said it would observe democratic principles. The outmoded tribal law has been discarded and land ownership has been limited to 600 acres, thus splitting up the vast holdings of the feudal landlords.

PRISONS EMPTYING: Sidewalk book stalls have opened for business on busy street corners. Among their chief wares: the Marxist classics in Arabic. Most of these books are printed in Syria. Translation of Marxist works into Arabic and import of English translations have been forbidden in Egypt. The most popular movie in Baghdad is one of a Moscow sports festival.

The number of people one meets who have spent most, if not all, of the last ten years in prison is impressive. One morning I walked through the city's workers' quarters with a school teacher who only a few days before had been released after ten years in the notorious Nograt Al Salman prison which lies in the heart of the desert, 150 kilometers from the nearest city. On almost every block he was stopped to be greeted by former prison companions.

Political prisoners are being set free in groups. Within a few days the prisons for "politicals" will be empty. The government has decreed that all political prisoners may have their old jobs back if they want them. The question of compensation is under discussion.

BASTINADO AND MORE: At a dinner given in the swank, air-conditioned Baghdad Hotel by a representative of the World Fedn. of Trade Unions, 80% of the Iraqis present (and all the trade union leaders) had just come out of the prisons. Iraq's most famous living poet, Salah Bakir Al-Ulum, composed and recited a long poem especially for this occasion. He himself had been years in prison and looked it.

PREMIER ABDUL KARIM QASSIM
The hero of the revolution

A Basra port worker later described the routine of prison life: "When we first arrived we were met by guards with heavy sticks. They demanded that we curse Lenin, Stalin and Nasser and sign a paper proclaiming our loyalty to the king and his kingdom. When we refused, the guards beat us—on the head, neck, face and back and gave us the bastinado (a punishment common in the Ottoman Empire which consists of beating the soles of the feet with thin sticks). Then we were taken to the blacksmith who forged chains onto our legs and were thrown into solitary confinement. The beatings went on day after day for months on end. We were beaten before every meal. Food—a few vegetables in much water—was shoved into our cells through a small opening in the door. We were never allowed out. But worst of all was the water. All we had to drink came out of taps so it was always hot—and the guards kept cold water where we could see it."

WHO THEY WERE: Some prisoners went mad; some died. But the majority maintained a high discipline and did not stop fighting. Another union leader estimated that during his seven-year term the prisoners carried on hunger strikes for a total of about 200 days: the longest was 27 days, the average 17 to 20. Many told of instances where guards fired on the prisoners—testimony in itself to the prisoners' militancy.

Who made up the prison population? There were people of all parties: the National Democratic, the Istiqlal, the Baath, the Communists. But everyone agrees that by far the largest number were trade unionists and Communists.

Even after only a few days here one has the impression that this is a more profound revolution—in the sense at least of popular participation—than any which has occurred elsewhere in the Arab world. Already trade union leaders (some of whom have not even had the chance yet to go home to see their families after long years in jail) are working to rebuild the trade union organizations smashed a decade ago.

UNIONS ACTIVE AGAIN: The Mechanics Union—along with some others—has managed, by assessing such members as it has been able to enroll one percent of their salary, to rent a small building for its headquarters. A meeting there on a recent Friday (the Moslem holy day) was dedicated to organizing a Baghdad industrial firm of some 300 workers. In a week's operation, 40 workers had been signed up and were meeting to elect their representatives.

"In Nuri's time," one said, "a representative of the Ministry of Social Affairs would have had to be present. That law, giving the government control over the unions, is still on the books. But we think it will be changed." Representatives of the port workers, tailors, gold and silversmiths were at work in the same building. Of the 15 who later sat down to discuss trade union problems with me, all, needless to say, were longtime prison inmates.

The first citywide meeting of Baghdad's unions took place one evening on the lawn of a tailor's home. About 250 were present, each union having sent 7 to 10 representatives. They included railway workers, oil workers, bus drivers, bakers, mechanics, carpenters, tailors, restaurant workers, weavers and spinners and building workers, Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola employees, and so on. Speakers recalled the great union struggles which marked the post-war decade and pointed with pride to the fact that, even in the worst years, they had managed to maintain an illegal organization and to send abroad at least one delegate to almost every international trade union congress.

The keynote was: "Alongside all the people of the Republic, defense of our newly won independence and insistence on democratic development."

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A BANKER LOOKS AT CHINA

'The people have a government they want'

The following excerpts are from a report of a recent trip to China by James Muir, chairman and president of the Royal Bank of Canada. Mr. Muir, as a businessman, was interested in the prospect of trade with China, and concluded his report with this observation: "I believe there is good and legitimate trade to be done. Other Western people are getting it. Canada will be negligent and unfair to herself if she does not get her share."

Mr. Muir's report was sent to Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.) by Cyrus Eaton, American industrialist now in the Soviet Union to promote better relations with that country. Sen. Langer inserted the complete Muir report in the Congressional Record of July 25, 1958.

THE GROWTH in industry, the change in living standards, the modernization of everything and anything, the feats of human effort and the colossal impact of human labor are not within our power to describe and still give a worthwhile picture of the scene. All I can say is that it must be seen to be believed. It's truly stupendous.

The effect is almost to bewilder one when he sees what has been accomplished in less than ten years but, if he is a thinking person, to appall him and dumbfound him when he realizes what had not been done in the previous 4,000 years or even 100 years. There are 600,000,000 people in the land—the net population is increasing 20,000,000 per annum or 38 per minute. Take deaths into consideration, and births must be at something resembling machine gun speed—and we were freely told there is already a labor shortage. Twenty-five per cent of the population of the world lives in China and in a score of years or less it will be nearer half the world's population. How one can fail to "recognize" this colossal scene is over my head.

I SHALL GIVE but one example, an exceptional one perhaps, of the inexorable effect of human effort in terms of human labor. I saw the new irrigation and flood control dam in the Ming Tombs Valley. It was practically finished and had taken only 140 days to complete. It is over 2,000 feet long, about 95 feet high, 555 feet wide at the base and about 25 feet wide at the top. It has a concrete core, the upstream side is clay and the other is earth, gravel, and stone. One hundred thousand people were working in 3 shifts around the clock.

All work was described as "voluntary" —certainly it was unpaid. About half of the work force was provided by the army, the rest by citizens from every walk of life who go and live and work at the site for days or weeks as circumstances, age, health, and physique permit. With little else than their bare hands, picks, and shovels, this colossal task has been accomplished . . .

THESE ARE THE CHILDREN OF MINERS

A group of kids at a kindergarten of the Fushun Colliery, Northeast China.

I have been asked about the standard of living in China. It's difficult to give an understandable answer because for vast millions there is not such a thing as we know it. Man, woman and child have not risen much beyond the beast-of-burden stage. The sights one sees of the stresses, the strains, the unbelievable extent to which a human frame can be abused, leave one almost physically ill. And yet the lot of these people is better than it was, and improving. For millions more one sees contentment, happiness and one would believe more freedom from oppression and civil strife than their previous generations have known. Corruption and graft we were told—and confirmed by people living outside the area—have disappeared. Petty theft is rare; one does not bother to lock his home. We did not bother to lock our hotel room doors . . .

UNLESS THE WHOLE scene is a dream or one's senses of observation and appraisement are less than useless, then we think the vast majority of the people of China have a government they want, a government which is improving their lot, a government in which they have confidence, a government which stands no chance whatever of being supplanted. All this quite obviously indicates a political problem that will sear the very souls of some Western powers, and which at some stage is going to pose an overwhelming face-saving problem in more directions than one. It's difficult to believe that anything resembling war is desired in China if for no reason other than that such a development would have a disastrous effect upon the plans for improvement they are trying to bring about. . . .

ONE INNOVATION in economic organization has resulted from the liquidation of the Kuomintang. Businessmen who were "clean" or free from entanglement with this organization, have been allowed to maintain their financial interest in the business and receive 5% on their capital, even though the enterprise may be managed by state-appointed personnel. If the owner of the business is appointed manager he will, of course, receive the regular state salary for his type of managerial service plus the 5% return on his investment. Here we have joint private-state enterprise which should be of interest to all students of comparative economic organization. How long this hybrid will persist, one cannot say. But I understand that the private rights involved may be bequeathed or transferred; and, if this is true, the joint private-state type of enterprise may last for generations to come. . . .

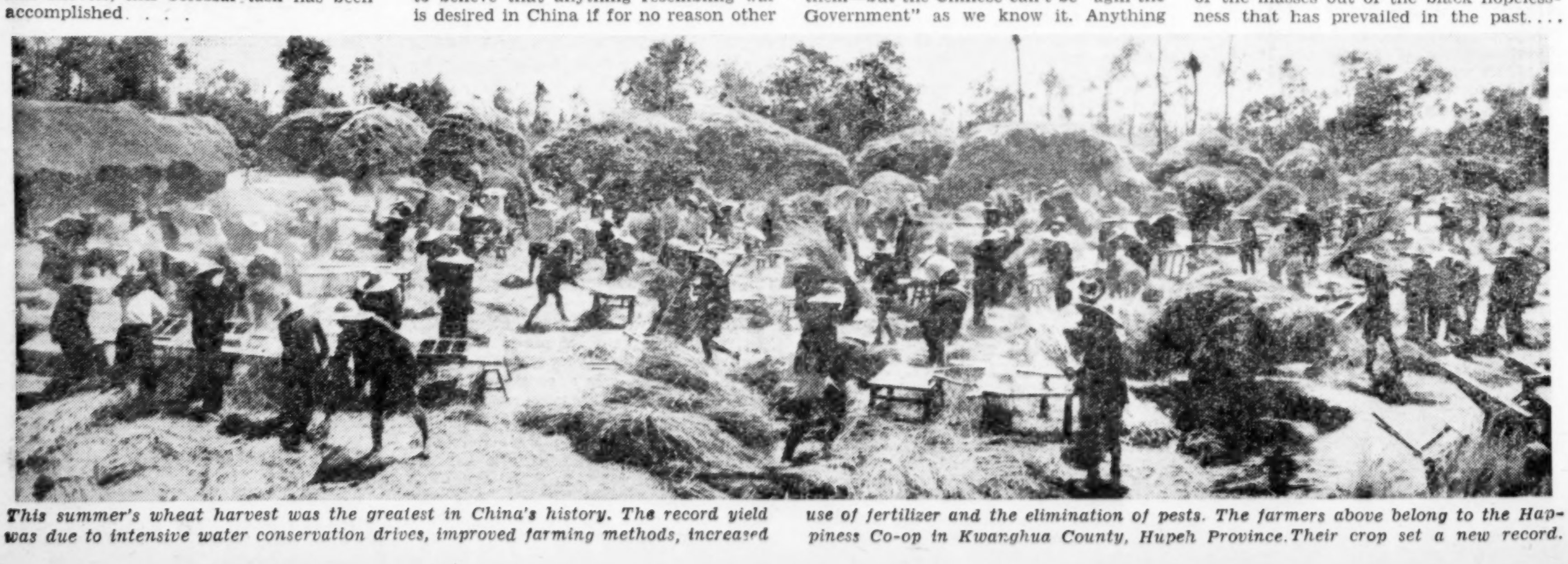
We had some interesting discussions relative to the new Chinese Constitution which provides for freedom of speech, right of assembly and freedom in the practice of religion. Freedom of speech, we believe, can be followed in the criticism of how things are being done in a material way, or of the people who are charged with the responsibility of doing them—but the Chinese can't be "agin the Government" as we know it. Anything savoring of sedition would meet with the inevitable treatment: so perhaps freedom of speech could in our view be largely confined to the "suggestion box" principle. In this highly restricted sense it might even be welcomed by the authorities.

Right of assembly exists in the sense that crowds can immediately assemble and listen to a speaker. We saw such crowds at street corners and at country crossroads. When we asked what the spouter was dispensing, it was always a harangue on the virtues of hygiene, on the desirability of continuing to swat flies and kill mosquitoes, or on some such subject. Theoretically, we suppose one could assemble a crowd and talk about anything—but for how long we don't know. There is no Chinese "Hyde Park." . . .

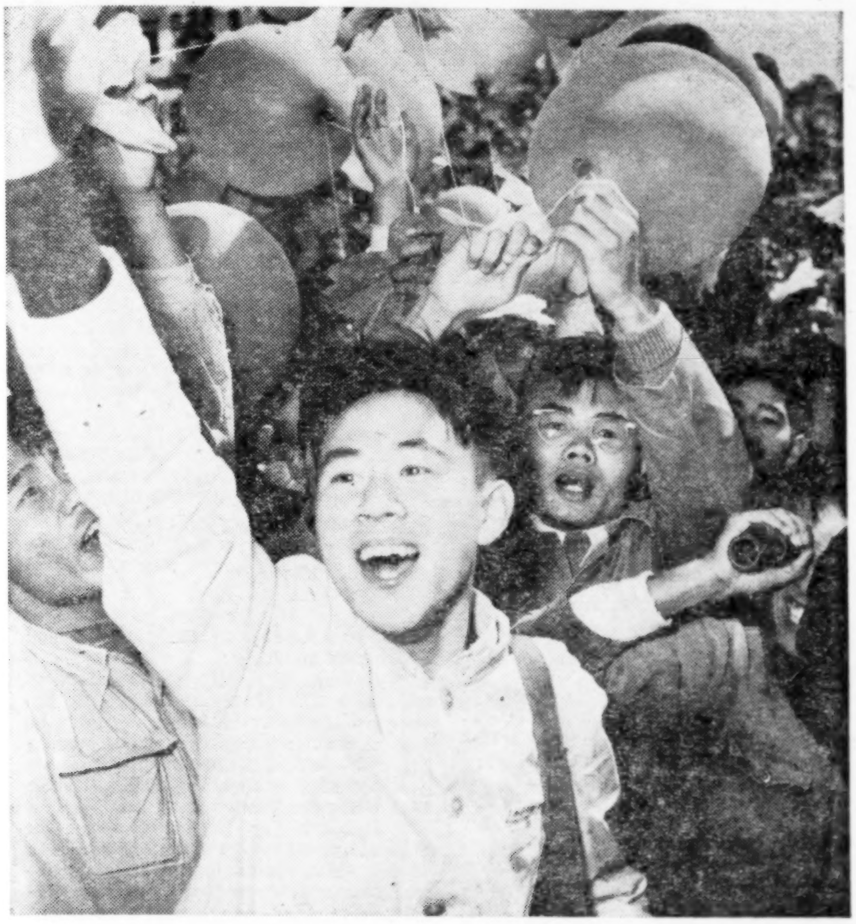
UNQUESTIONABLY there is some subtle difference in life between China and other nations of Marxian persuasion. One feels no sense of domination, no depression, no lack of freedom in moving around and so on. Perhaps it is inspired by the courtesy, good nature and natural politeness of the people. One goes shopping as he would in Montreal—big stores, little stores, all sorts of goods. Food is rationed on a seasonal basis, we were told. In hotels and restaurants there are no restrictions. One can go sightseeing, rubbernecking and camera using at will—but must get an export permit for his undeveloped film which was a rather perfunctory procedure.

As mentioned earlier, 25% of the world's population live in China; maybe in 20 years they will be one-half of the world. Their present rate of progress is beyond description—but they have, as we have said, a million miles to go before the masses have a semblance of a decent standard of living. They are moving fast however. If one can picture a future nation of one billion people—skilled, educated, industrialized and with a capacity for work that beggars description—the high cost economy of the West is eventually in for revision. We of the West want no part of the political and economic philosophy that governs such states—but I wonder if we had a similar experience as a people how we would feel about it? The answer seems to be clear.

Regarding the so-called "recognition" of China in the political sense, one just does not see how 600,000,000 people, which may be a billion before too long, can be given myopic treatment. I am no prophet—but a "Bonnie Prince Charlie" from across the sea from Taiwan seems more than unlikely. Just how face is to be saved there presents a staggering problem. There is every indication that the people of China as a whole are satisfied with their Government. It seems to meet their needs and it seems to be conscious of a great job to be done to lift the standard of living and the general way of life of the masses out of the black hopelessness that has prevailed in the past. . . .



This summer's wheat harvest was the greatest in China's history. The record yield was due to intensive water conservation drives, improved farming methods, increased use of fertilizer and the elimination of pests. The farmers above belong to the Happiness Co-op in Kwanghua County, Hupeh Province. Their crop set a new record.

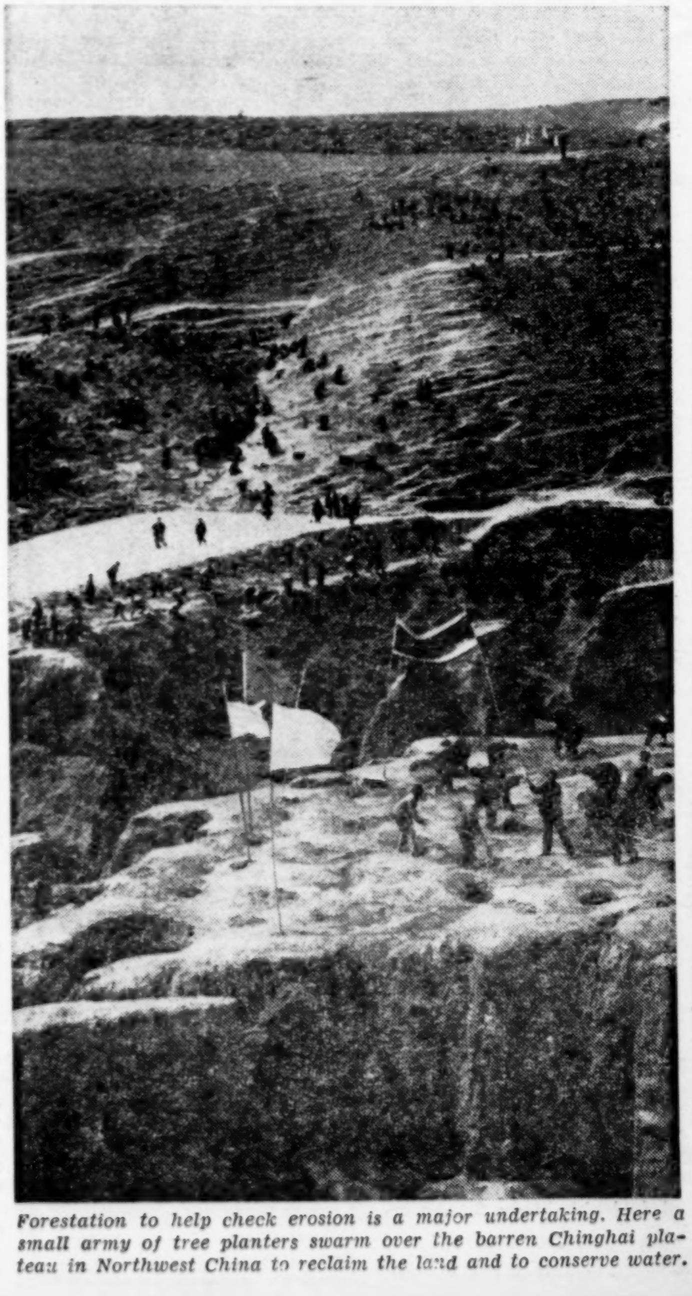


China's National Day—its Fourth of July—is celebrated on Oct. 1. Students above cheer Mao Tse-tung from Peking's Tien An Men Square during last year's parade.

Mao himself takes part in the mass mobilization to build a reservoir at the Ming Tombs near Peking. Here he shovels earth into a carrying basket as workers watch.

Peking in a 3-day all-out war on grain-eating sparrows exterminated 400,000 of them. Above, the first day's bag in a nearby village is paraded on a cart to the delight of small fry. All China is engaged in wiping out the "four pests": flies, mosquitoes, rodents and grain-eating sparrows. It is estimated that sparrows eat one-third of their own body weight in grain every day.

Four-ton "Liberation" trucks run through an assembly line at No. 1 Motor Vehicle Plant at Changchun in Northeast China. The young auto industry now has a score of designs in the works. By next year China plans to produce every needed type of tractor, truck and passenger car. The net result of the West's ban on trade is to force China to become self-sufficient by meeting all of its own needs.



Forestation to help check erosion is a major undertaking. Here a small army of tree planters swarm over the barren Chinghai plateau in Northwest China to reclaim the land and to conserve water.

Far East story

(Continued from Page 1)

territories" including Formosa.

Peking at once warned that violation of China's 12-mile limit was a dangerous act "infringing on our country's sovereignty," and resumed the bombardment of Quemoy which it had halted for two days in anticipation of renewed talks.

In a letter to President Eisenhower on Sept. 8, Soviet Premier Khrushchev said without "reservations" that an attack on China would be "an attack on the Soviet Union." He urged the U.S. to realize that there is only one China, whose government is in Peking, not Formosa. He suggested that the UN should look into the practice of dispatching naval and air fleets to distant lands to bring pressure on them and oblige the fleet to stay within their national frontiers.

DULLES AND DULLES: The 12-mile limit (announced Sept. 2) had been regarded as an earlier opportunity for Washington gracefully to pull its horns in. But Secy. Dulles ignored it.

By a fateful coincidence, on Sept. 2 Dulles conferred briefly with President Eisenhower in Newport and, after the President had returned to the golf course made two announcements—one official and one unofficial. The official one, on behalf of the President, still left the degree of U.S. involvement in the Formosa Srait uncertain; the unofficial one committed American lives on behalf of Chiang.

With characteristic legal casuistry, Dulles, as Secretary of State, first attempted to establish that Quemoy did not belong to China because the Peking government had not extended its "authority" over the island since it came to power on the mainland. He thus concluded that if Peking tried to recover Quemoy, it would constitute aggression "to seize new territory."

Then in the guise of an un-named "high official," Dulles briefed reporters on what they should read between the lines of his previous statement. He said the U.S. would ignore the 12-mile limit, set by China, "convoy supplies to Quemoy and fight for the island before the situation "became desperate" for Chiang's forces.

ACHESON SHOULD KNOW: Former Secy. of State Dean Acheson two days later dissected Dulles' arguments. He said it was "an irrelevant legal point" to deny Peking's right to the offshore islands, such as Quemoy, because it had not es-established its "authority" over them. The important fact was that "until the present civil war [these islands] have been controlled by the same power which controlled the adjacent coast." Therefore, he said, far from being "new territory," they were to China "as are Long Island, Staten Island, and Martha's Vineyard" to the U.S. Turning a remarkable and welcome somersault, Acheson even denied that Formosa was vital to U.S. security.

Too few American voices joined Acheson's; and some of those confused the issues involved. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) asked the President "to get off the golf course and back into the White House" to handle the crisis. He denied Washington's right to fight for Quemoy, but was silent on Peking's right to Formosa. Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) condemned Peking for threatening world peace and said it must not be permitted to provoke the U.S. into a war. Adlai Stevenson agreed with Dulles about holding Quemoy but deplored violence.

A "LOUD PROTEST": In a letter to the N.Y. **Times**, foreign affairs analyst James P. Warburg made the most compelling point: he wondered how Americans would have felt if, after Cornwallis' surrender in the Revolutionary war, the British had withdrawn their forces to an imaginary island 100 miles off the Mid-Atlantic coast, determined to return to the mainland; "the Royal Navy and a few of King George's Redcoats had clung to Nantucket, Long Island and the Florida Keys" and interfered with American shipping; and France's Louis XVI had backed the British and sent his fleet to help Britain hold the islands.

Herblock in Washington Post

"We have to go along to save face."

Warburg said: "This is a time when true patriotism demands not quiet acquiescence but loud protest . . ."

While Americans generally remained apathetic, the rest of the world was outspokenly critical. The British Trades Union Congress demanded Peking be given China's seat in the UN Security Council and that trade embargoes be lifted to the Soviet Union and China. Britain's Air Marshal Sir John Slessor told the American Chamber of Commerce that fighting over Quemoy "is going to enlist the uncommitted millions of Asia against us." The **Manchester Guardian** condemned Washington's "rigidity of mind" that "may carry us all to our doom."

THE AGING DUKE: India's Premier Nehru deplored violence but said all the offshore islands and Formosa should be restored to China. Egypt's President Nasser tagged the U.S. as the aggressor in the Formosa Strait. Asians joined Acheson in ridiculing the President's pet "domino theory"—that the loss of Quemoy would set off a chain reaction resulting in "Communist control" of all Asian countries; the **Manchester Guardian** reported that Malayans greeted this theory "with a mixture of amazement, hilarity and anger."

Closer to home, the Canadian government washed its hands of the mess. But Toronto's conservative **Globe and Mail** bought space in the N.Y. **Times** to reprint its editorials three days in a row. It likened recognition of the "wholly synthetic" Chiang government to recognizing "some exiled, aging Grand Duke as Czar of Russia," and said:

"[China] is suggesting rather brutally (has it any other way?) to the Western nations that when they pretend Formosa is China . . . when they pretend the real China, which is really a great power, does not exist—why, then, they are asking for trouble; and they are going to get it."

THE BASIC ISSUES: Critics as well as supporters of the Administration slurred over the basic issues:

- The present crisis over Quemoy grew out of the military build-up that accompanied Washington's "unleashing" of Chiang in 1953.
- Chiang wants to use Quemoy, as columnist Walter Lippmann noted, "to entangle the U.S. in a full-scale war with Red China" in the futile hope of regaining power over the mainland.
- Formosa is a part of China, as the 1943 Cairo conference recognized.
- Plebiscite or UN trusteeship for Formosa would not be tolerated by China or any Asian-African country, since that would set a precedent for mischief-making in areas where the West might wish to preserve its vested interests.
- The proper solution would be to restore China's territorial integrity and its recognition by the UN as a permanent member of the Security Council.

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SUB CAMPAIGN, SEE P. 5

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PRESIDENT FRONDIZI'S NEW DEAL

Argentina moves to develop oil resources

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

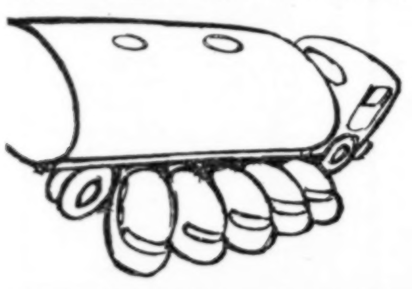
BUENOS AIRES

PRESIDENT FRONDIZI'S announcement late in July of several agreements regarding the future exploitation of Argentina's petroleum resources had been expected for so long that it was like a time-bomb which had at last been fused.

The question of oil, of which this country has almost untold reserves, has plagued Argentina for many decades. Despite these reserves Argentina today imports 65 per cent of all gasoline consumed within the country. As Frondizi said: "Argentina is obliged to export raw materials in order to pay for oil and coal . . . If we continue on this road, we may look forward to a dramatic lowering of our people's standard of living, with all its consequences of unemployment and misery." Only a vastly extended oil production ("the battle for oil is our most arduous and decisive task") coupled with the exploitation of coal, electric energy and the expansion of the steel industry can assure the present standard of living and a sound economic future.

AREA OF CONFLICT: On this point all Argentines are agreed—in theory. The point of conflict lies in deciding who shall exploit these vast underground resources.

Arturo Frondizi's Radical Party has traditionally opposed foreign concessions that would make Argentina—long an agricultural dependency of European powers—the cheap source of mineral raw materials as well. The July agreements with foreign concerns are not concessions in the traditional sense but trade and investment agreements on a vast scale designed to bolster the national oil industry, the YPF (Yacimientos Petrolificos Fiscales).



Referring to the day he took over the government, the President said: "If on the first of May there had been sufficient gold in the National Bank, I myself would personally have transferred it to the YPF." But gold and foreign exchange at that time totaled no more than $250,000,000, with $645,000,000 due to be paid on various foreign loans and obligations by the end of this year. The catastrophic economic situation of this rich country is due not only to economic mismanagement of the two previous regimes but also to its inability to mobilize sufficient Argentine capital to industrialize the country.

ONE BILLION DOLLARS: There is plenty of Argentine capital, largely invested in agriculture or cattle-breeding, and thus immobilized. Lately it has gone into the so-called secondary industries—textiles, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, etc.,—where risks are small and profits immediate. Heavy industry demands vast capital outlay over a long period of time before there can be any substantial returns, which are enormous when they start coming in. The YPF has, in the course of the last year, raised two internal loans, but not on a scale to affect production appreciably. Nevertheless, those patriotic or farsighted enough to back the national oil industry then, today watch their stocks rise daily.

The agreements signed or pending amount to an investment of approximately one billion dollars. Not all the details are known even now, and presumably won't be until the various projects are submitted to Congress for ratification; but from what is known already, it is clear that these are no ordinary concessions, as in the Arab countries or Venezuela. Such concessions as there are for drilling are for a strictly limited period of time and under the permanent direction and supervision of the National Oilfields, "the inalienable property of the people."

TERMS—EAST & WEST: Apart from drilling, foreign capital will be used to construct pipelines and refineries, and credits will be used to acquire the capital goods and machinery so urgently needed to make Argentina self-sufficient in gasoline production.

The terms of most of the contracts with Western firms—including a group of American firms, dominated by Standard Oil—appear to call for repayment, and payment of interest, in equal parts in dollars and national currency. The credit of $100 million offered by the Soviet Union, only 2½ hours before the President went on the air, calls for payment exclusively in Argentine agricultural produce.

When the President said "we will not pay in oil," he was undoubtedly being truthful, for Argentina cannot afford to export a single drop of oil until she is self-sufficient.

However, the ultimate aim of foreign capital groups preparing to enter the country is undoubtedly not to make Argentina self-sufficient, but to transform her as soon as possible into an alternative to the Middle East sources of supply. It was the Iraqi revolution which so stimulated negotiations that agreements, which might have dragged on for weeks or months, were suddenly signed within a matter of hours or days. Since this country has known oil reserves of at least 400 million tons, when Argentina satisfies her domestic demands and develops a modern oil industry, she will naturally become an exporter without jeopardizing her economic independence.

IN THE MIDDLE: Why then the attacks upon Frondizi's policy from both the extreme Right and Left? The oligarchy, traditionally allied to foreign capital in the sense that it sold its meat and wheat in exchange for coal, fuel, whisky and Cadillacs, is today accusing the President of selling the country to foreigners. This oligarchy, which can retain its position of influence only in an under-industrialized economic structure, and which has for 150 years refused to invest in Argentina's future, is today faced with the spectre of a modern society in which a big land-owner will no longer be a king, but where farming will sooner or later form part of an integrated society.

Faced with the loss of both social and economic supremacy, the Right will do anything to frustrate the President's plans, even to the point of using the most demagogic arguments of the Left. The Left, on the other hand, as expressed by the statement of the Communist Party, has no new argument of any kind to offer. Welcoming the import of a million tons of Russian oil during the coming year and the offer of a Russian credit of $100 million—so far only an offer—the CP attacks any agreements to be entered into with any Western capital groups, especially North American. This appears a doctrinaire position that can hardly be justified, since Argentina's entire strength today lies in her capacity to trade with East and West alike. It must be remembered that the offer of a Soviet credit was made after agreements with Western groups became known.

NEW PAPER BACKS FRONDIZI
Checking first issue of El Nacional

STRONGER PROTEST NEEDED

Jimmy Wilson gets automatic stay, but his life is still in jeopardy

BECAUSE UNCOUNTED THOUSANDS of people all over the world have intervened in a way rarely equalled in recent years, the rulers of the sovereign state of Alabama will probably not be able to exercise their "state's right" to burn the life out of Jimmy Wilson for an alleged theft of $1.95.

Wilson, a 55-year-old Negro handyman, was scheduled to die Sept. 5 in the electric chair at Kilby prison. Many another Negro had occupied that seat in the capital city of Montgomery. In fact, the chair could almost carry a sign (like so many others in the state): COLORED ONLY.

The Alabama Supreme Court had affirmed Wilson's conviction and ordinarily its denial of his petition for a rehearing would have been routine. But because the protest was anything but ordinary the Court met on Sept. 4 and failed to take any action on the petition. This won an automatic reprieve for Wilson.

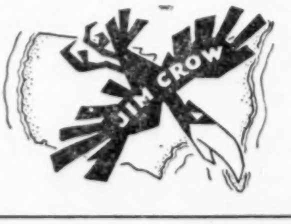
WAITING IN PRISON: Now he passes his days and nights at the Atmore prison farm waiting for the Court to make up its mind. If the re-hearing is granted, he will be represented by new counsel, headed by Fred Gray, the courageous young Negro lawyer who represented the Montgomery Improvement Assn. during the historic bus boycott. If the plea is denied, a new execution date will be set and the case will be on the desk of Gov. James E. Folsom in an appeal for clemency.

Folsom's exec. secy., Ralph Hammond, announced that Secy. of State Dulles had written to the Governor that U.S. embassies abroad were being flooded with letters protesting the death sentence. Dulles was reported as saying the London Embassy was receiving "about 600 letters a day," and the Embassy in Ireland about 400 daily. Folsom replied to Dulles that he, himself, was on the receiving end of more than 1,000 letters a day.

WORST IN THE WORLD: The impact of the protests shook out of Folsom, who vacates his office in January, the statement: "I admit that we have the worst penal system in the world, including Dark Africa. I hope the next Legislature will do something about improving the situation." The chief executives of South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida and Georgia might claim the distinction for their states. But there was little disposition to challenge Folsom.

A recent study showed that during 24 years up to 1954, of all persons executed for all crimes in the Southern states and the District of Columbia, 73% were Negroes.

Now Jimmy Wilson has been temporarily spared the fate Alabama had reserved for him. But the best he could look forward to was passing the rest of his life on an Alabama prison farm. Only more protest could win him a fair trial and a just verdict.



Hyun deportation case postponed

HEARINGS IN THE DAVID HYUN deportation case have been postponed "until further notice" with no date set by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of Los Angeles, which reopened the case last winter. Eight years have now passed since the government first began its efforts to deport the Los Angeles architect.

The basic issue in the case is the use of physical persecution methods by the government of South Korea against opponents of the regime. Any new instances of the use of such methods that may come to the attention of GUARDIAN readers should be sent to Friends and Neighbors of David Hyun, Box 26026, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

Harold Davies speaks in New York Sept. 19

HAROLD DAVIES, British Labor MP, will conclude his six-week Peace tour of this country and Canada at a mass meeting Friday evening, Sept. 19, in New York City.

Corliss Lamont, civil liberties leader and Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator, will speak with Mr. Davies on "The Next Steps to Peace." Dr. Otto Nathan, distinguished educator, and Rev. A. J. Muste, prominent pacifist, will also speak.

Chairman of the meeting will be Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, teacher and writer and Independent-Socialist candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. The meeting will start at 8 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker, 34th St. and 8th Av.

A house is not a home

THERE IS LITTLE SIGN of dry rot or deteriorating morale among the tough soldiers of the island garrisons, for Chiang's government does a great deal to provide amusement for the lonely defenders of the outposts. . . . There is a permanent "Paradise House," run, curiously, by the Officers Moral Endeavor Assn., where officers and men alike find surcease from their loneliness. The establishment is supervised by a medical staff, he girls are under contract to the government at the equivalent of 50 American dollars a month, and an atmosphere of strict propriety prevails.

Saturday Evening Post, Sept. 6, 1958

School jimcrow

(Continued from Page 1)

tended Central last year back into the school. It had granted a stay of execution of its own order, however, pending the school board's appeal.

THE COURTS WAIT: Hard-pressed state officials and school board members in three Virginia cities awaited the Supreme Court decision and prepared their next moves. The segregationist South looked to them to set the pattern for successful resistance to Federal law but their ground for legal maneuver was shrinking.

Federal District Judge Walter E. Hoffman denied the Norfolk school board's appeal for a year's delay in admitting 17 Negro pupils to white schools, but promised he would reconsider his decision if the Supreme Court ordered a stay in Little Rock. Judge Albert V. Bryan listened to arguments as NAACP attorneys and experts attacked and school board spokesmen defended Arlington's refusal to enroll 30 Negro applicants, and held off his decision until after the Supreme Court acts. In a Charlottesville case it seemed certain Judge John Paul would take the same course regarding the demand of 30 other Negro pupils for admission into white schools.

Should the Virginia school boards seek to carry out final unappealable integration orders of the Federal courts they will face a showdown with the state machine of Sen. Harry F. Byrd. They have been forewarned by Gov. J. Lindsay Almond that the courts have no power and they have no right under state law to assign Negro pupils to white schools.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Great game of How-Not-To

SEGREGATIONISTS' HOPE: Almond's message to school officials involved in integration controversies ended with the thinly-veiled threat that "the mixing of the races in our public schools will isolate them from the support of our people, produce strife, bitterness, chaos and confusion to the utter destruction of any rational concept of a worth-while public school system."

The die-hard segregationists rely on two principal state enactments to forestall integration. Pupil placement laws in several states empower school boards to assign pupils on the basis of such criteria as personality, character and adaptability. The NAACP has labeled such laws a "ruse" behind which racial discrimination may be continued. In Virginia the legislators, not trusting the school boards' full commitment to segregation, have placed full authority for pupil assignment in the hands of a special state board.

Whenever the pupil assignment laws run afoul of Supreme Court displeasure, Virginia, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Texas and other states would fall back on a variety of school-closing laws. These statutes would permit or require the shutting down of any school to which a Negro pupil is assigned, provide for re-opening the school as a private institution, permit the transfer of students from integrated to segregated schools, and allocate public money for "private" instruction.

THE INEVITABLE FUTURE: The expectation of the Virginia architects of "massive resistance" is that the long process of litigation which these laws are bound to provoke will keep "their" schools lily-white and all-black for the next school year or longer. Beyond that there may be more state laws to hold off the future. And ultimately there is the ominous forecast of what Gov. Almond calls "strife" and Arkansas Gov. Faubus calls "blood" in Southern streets.

The Southern reactionaries may not be able to evade the inevitable. But they seem to be well on the way to postponing it for quite a while. And this despite the fact that such a keen observer as North Carolina newspaperman Harry Golden reports that "the majority of white Southerners believe that racial segregation can no longer be maintained on a moral, religious or legal basis." What maintains segregation, then, is not the moral or religious sanction of most Southerners, nor its legality in the courts, but the political grip which its adherents still hold over all of Southern life and much of the nation's.

THERE ARE TWO ROADS: If the Supreme Court rules that "all deliberate speed" means slowing down the already painful snail's pace of integration in face of Faubus' insurrection, that political grip will be strengthened. If, on the other hand, it rules that "all deliberate speed" must now mean full speed ahead, then the battle will be fiercer for the moment; but it will the sooner be over—and the nation may emerge in our time truly as one nation with equal justice and opportunity for all.

Herblock in Washington Post
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SCOTT NEARING REPORTS on his trip to USSR, China. Fri., Sept. 19, 8:15 p.m. Hall B-3, 32 W. Randolph. 90c. Chicago Coun. American-Soviet Friendship.

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LOS ANGELES

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SAT., NOV. 8

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THE GALLERY

REP. W. L. WARD OF LEE COUNTY, ARK., told the state legislature: "We've got to have an end to this socialism and communism and running around at night." . . . Delegate John Bjorkland got his pocket picked of $44.80 at a nudists' convention in Bedford, England—his pants were in a tent at the time . . According to **Advertising Age**, the U.S. economy can't lose: "If the most recent world crisis subsides, we should be able to expect better times ahead; if, on the other hand, it heats up further, the demands of war will once more solve any possible over-production problems we may have." . . . During court proceedings in a careless driving case in Wimbledon, England, the prosecutor argued that "turning completely around while driving a car on a main road is like forming a government in France—it has to be done with great delicacy and thought."

"LET'S HAVE NO WISHY-WASHY COFFEE" is a slogan of the National Coffee Assn. campaign to get us to make stronger coffee. It seems that in 1949 Americans were getting 46 cups to a pound of coffee; by 1958 the rate jumped to 64 cups. If the campaign is successful the coffee men will sell 500,000,000 more pounds of coffee a year . . . When Gov. Faubus' speech to the special session of the Arkansas legislature was televised, state officials monitored the broadcast. A Faubus man explained: "We don't want television cameras showing some yokel in the legislature reading a newspaper and smoking a cigar while the Governor is making his speech. We want this thing to be objective. If they can't show Arkansas in a nice way, then they are going to be cut off." . . . Dr. Donald Petit of the U. of Southern California says that 95% of obese people who reduce return to their original weight within ten years.

London Daily Mirror
"Well, what luck—finding you awake!"

CHINA LOBBY SPOKESMAN ALFRED KOHLBERG adds up the world's population and comes to this conclusion: "With China ruled by a regime that keeps it in the Soviet camp the odds are 900 to 600 or 3-to-2 against us. If China is ever recovered by the Nationalist Government, the 600,000,000 will be back in our camp, where they belong. The odds would then revert to 1,200,000,000 to 300,000,000 or 4-to-1 in our favor." In New York playing the numbers is legal, unless you bet on them . . . Gamblers interested in the shifting odds could get little inside information from Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. In Los Angeles, answering a question on when her husband would be unleashed on the mainland, she said: "That is something the Communists want to know, and I'm sure you don't want to inform the Communists. The future to us is different from the future as measured by historians." . . . Meanwhile, back on the mainland, people were also interested in statistics. Peking scroll makers, in keeping with the "great leap forward" campaign, pledged to produce 12-foot scrolls in one day instead of in four . . . In Nanking auto makers were experimenting with plastic-body automobiles. A plastic test car they produced weighed half of the standard steel model, cruised at greater speed, used less gas and oil, resisted rust, fire and acid and withstood shock tests. The roof of the car is primrose and the rest of the body is light green.

J. EDGAR HOOVER has lost almost 30 pounds but even the FBI does not know how he did it. Waiters at his favorite restaurant say he has not changed his eating habits at all. They say "he is a great steak man and he has never been much of a potato man." Maybe he's worried about the reds . . . Sen. John D. Hoblitzell Jr. (R-W.Va.) thinks that "most people take it easy unless you keep after them." When he left Washington to campaign at home he left a note for each of his employes which warned: "I am not willing to tolerate any longer long lunch hours, unexcused absences and indifferent performance when I am outside the office." . . . The current plastic hoop craze is due to expand. Wham-O is about to market a hoop with an adjustable waist band for middle-aged hoopsters.

—**Robert E. Light**

New Marxist school opens in N.Y. Oct. 6

ON OCT. 6 the newly-formed Faculty of Social Science will begin a seven-week fall term of 25 classes in economics, history, the arts, philosophy and Marxism.

Herbert Aptheker, editor of **Political Affairs** and author of **The Truth About Hungary**, is director of the faculty, which includes Victor Perlo, GUARDIAN contributor and author of **The Empire of High Finance**; Harry K. Wells, author of **Ivan Pavlov** and **Pragmatism**; Sidney Finkelstein, author of **Realism in Art**, and Leon Josephson, author of **Soviet Law.**

Classes will meet weekly for seven weeks, in 1½-hour sessions, at 6:30 or 8:30 p.m. Fee for each course is $6. Advance registrations will be taken starting the week of Sept. 29. All inquiries should be addressed to Faculty of Social Science, Rm. 227, 80 E. 11 St., N.Y.

Hawaii first!

BERKELEY, CALIF.

"Statehood for Lebanon," a local disc jockey wag advocated recently as something of a joke. He might find unexpected support from the State Dept. boys.

Walter Gerstel

THE WORD IS PEACE IN DETROIT'S CAMPUS MARTIUS

These anti-war demonstrators picked Labor Day to walk for peace down Woodward Av., the auto city's main street. They ended their walk at the Soldiers and Sailors monument (r.) in front of a reviewing stand where dignitaries watched the official Labor Day parade. Among the reviewers: Gov. G. Mennen Williams and Sen. Pat McNamara. Detroiters interested in working for peace can call Rev. Julius Davis of the Detroit Peace Action Committee at FO 6-3860.

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- GET ON BOARD, LITTLE CHILDREN
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NEWSPAPER

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the SPECTATOR

Arabs' gift to humanity

MALEYEVKA, U.S.S.R.

LOOKING ACROSS THE WORLD from a Writers Rest House just west of Moscow, it seems that one of the best gifts to the human race has just been made by ten Arab Nations in New York. This is so much more exciting than anything else at the moment that I must comment, even if late.

One must judge events these days from the standpoint of what they do for human survival. From that standpoint I don't think either Mr. Dulles or Mr. Gromyko are doing the job. Dulles, with his brink-of-war policy, is mainly destructive of man's chance for a future. Gromyko's speeches are an accurate and brutal analysis of Washington's sins. Some day, if some lone cave-man survivor of the H-Bombs can read and sees a copy of Gromyko's speeches, he will know just whom to blame. I wonder if he will think it matters . . .

The act that brought healing came neither from the West nor from Moscow. Neither from the West's much-touted method of hard-fought voting, which we love to call "democracy" but which the losers call "pressure" and "vote manipulating." Nor yet from that brutal analysis which showed up Washington's evil intent far, far too clearly. As Gromyko saw, and meant the world to see, Washington intended not merely to take over Lebanon but to conquer the Middle East.

NO DOUBT THIS AIM was logically implicit and was actually the purpose of the more evil minds in Washington. But I doubt if the total purpose of the U.S. was as simple and clear as that. There were a lot of mixed purposes, among which seems to have been some pure panic over oil, inspired by Iraq's revolution. When Iraq proved stable and willing to sell oil, there must have been a lot of important people who felt we had gone half-cocked into trouble and had better get out.

So Mr. Gromyko's rude proof that Washington policy should be totally swept into the dustbin tended not towards peace but towards fixing blame for a mess which Washington could hardly get out of without humiliation. It might even have solidified the U.S. around the trend to conquest which Gromyko analyzed so well, making a conscious policy of what, for most, had been an implicit trend.

Anyway, there was the deadlock, in which neither side could put over its resolution: neither the Russians with their demand that U.S. troops be forced out by UN orders (a deserved punishment but not one calculated to heal); nor that absurd evasive resolution we had wished on Norway, which did nothing about anything. There loomed a trial by votes, a certain deadlock. And then the Arabs came in.

WHAT WON was the principle of unanimity, derived from Bandung. Do you recall Bandung, when a few pro-American delegates tried to stir up trouble in that conference of Asians and Africans? Carlos Romulo of the Philippines, for instance, grossly insulted Chou En-lai. And when the reporters rushed to get Chou's reply to the insult, he said blandly: "I did not come to quarrel. I came for the success of all the people here."

That was the eruption of a method that is going to have to become common practice if our human race is to last. We are going to have to act, not in terms of pressure, and in terms of fixing blame, but in terms of getting a solution acceptable to all.

The Arabs did it very well. They did a lot of things in just one act. They informed the world that there are ten Arab nations in the UN, which was to me, and probably to others, a surprise. They informed the world by indirection and politely, that Lebanon and Jordan was Arab business and not the business of Moscow or Washington. They informed the world that the Arab states were unanimous, which was in itself a revolution, derived from the revolution in Iraq. They put the speech in the mouth of the Sudan's delegate, for no reason I know of except that he was least controversial of all.

THEY TIMED IT RIGHT. When all insults had been swapped and neither side could win, they won a unanimous decision, not only among Arabs but in the UN. And this was not a minor miracle but a major one.

The result will probably be to get the Anglo-American armed forces out without humiliating anyone. For America this will tend to split the many well-meaning Americans away from evil men who actually intend conquest; and this result will be a triumph too. One recalls the words of Chou En-lai: "I came for the success of ALL the people here." The success also—of Americans.

As for the Arabs, what this does to their prestige is something to think about. In one move they emerge as a major power on the world stage. One notes, in sudden surprise, that their ten votes are one-eighth of all the votes in the UN.

—Anna Louise Strong

BUFFALO, N.Y.

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HEAR

Harold Davies
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